



Memory Books in 19th-century Spain

One morning, while tidying up the bedroom, Rosa opened the drawer in the chest where Cholo kept his papers. There she found the papers about the property and, in a corner, together with the Family Book and the social security booklet, the papers from the bank. She lovingly opened the two red account files for the grown-up children, Anabel and José Luis, set up with the money given as presents for their first communion, as if they were made of gold leaf. Then she saw the savings book with its blue cover, and reminded herself of the figures, a tidy sum already, if mother could have seen it! And she was about to put it away when it occurred to her to take off the elastic band around the big folder which Cholo had kept from his time in Switzerland. There were things, names and so on that she didn't understand, but in the middle there were also some of the cards she had sent from Aran. There was one with the impression of her lips in red lipstick and a farewell: 'All yours'. She looked at it with a sigh amid a pile of paper, and it was just then that she noticed another violet-coloured booklet, with the letter-head of a bank which was not their own.

1. Introduction

The chest of drawers where Cholo kept his papers could easily be taken as the fictional representation of the disappearing habit of preserving the most fragile memories of the lives of ordinary people. At the same time, in the above citation from the Galician writer Manuel Rivas, we may observe a daily relationship with writing which has existed for centuries. Its importance to the individual and the family is linked to the democratisation of writing and its exponential expansion in the contemporary era. This link is demonstrated in the preservation of official documents recording the status and profession of the individual, his or her properties and leisure activities, as well as in different forms of private writing (letters, diaries, memoirs etc). Nevertheless, these memory chests, to adopt the happy phrase coined by Federico Croci and Giovanni Bonfiglio in their study of emigrants' writings,¹ do not always include everything connected with the individual and the family. We may have lost a few records along the way, some hidden away or destroyed because too compromising, others just missing by accident, so that as Philippe Artières argues, the ordering and selecting of what remains constitutes a more or less conscious autobiographical choice.²

Among the mass of private papers there is one particular form of writing that comes under the heading of 'memory books' (*libros de memorias*), understood as the books in which one noted what might be forgotten, whether it related to work or property, or whether it was connected to the family or recorded other events. As we know, it was a form of writing with a long history behind it. Its origins as a genre go back to the Late Middle Ages, when artisans, merchants, bankers and a few peasants found it

necessary to record their accounts in writing. They produced books which they sometimes signed and sometimes entrusted to an intermediary. In Italy, the practice seems to have been in decline after the 16th century,³ but in Spain it persisted into the modern period, although it was mostly limited to Catalonia and Valencia.

What happened to the ‘memory book’ in modern times? Before answering it is just as well to be clear that our knowledge is quite insufficient. In Spain, the study of private writings in the modern era has developed considerably, but as far as the 19th and 20th centuries are concerned, it has only been in the last decade that scholars have begun to investigate this area, above all thanks to the new generation of researchers in scribal culture.⁴ There still remains a vast terrain to explore.

Although the popular conquest of writing may have been slow, it was steady and was becoming a reality, as we can see in the abundance of letters, diaries, memoirs and other personal and domestic writings which survive from the 19th century and beyond, even if our knowledge of that reality is still partial.⁵ Numerous scenes and representations in contemporary art and literature echo the involvement of ordinary people in writing and show that it was becoming an everyday practice. See for example *La carta del hijo ausente* (The Letter from the Absent Son), painted in 1881 by Maximino Peña Muñoz, an artist from Soria who captured the anxious desire to receive news from an absent family member – a situation which the painter, an emigrant himself, knew at first hand.⁶ It is interesting to note the contrast drawn by the artist between the illiterate parents and the literate son, a faithful reflection of the progress which had been made by then.

2. Literacy, Schooling and an Apprenticeship in Handwriting

It follows from this that the development of writing as a social practice is connected with the educational and cultural changes of the second half of the 19th century, especially the impetus then given to primary schooling, whose importance was recognised by the Moyano Law of 1857. Thus whereas in 1831, the level of school attendance was less than 25% of children of school age, in 1879 the figure was 47% and by 1914 it rose to 56%.⁷ As a result of economic progress in this period, and factors like the more widespread presence of books and reading in society, especially with the rise of public and popular libraries, the number of literate people rose considerably. At the same time, an alarming gender gap still persisted, not to mention regional differences, so that at this time Spain found herself listed along with Russia, Italy and Hungary amongst the least literate countries in Europe.⁸ Taking all this into account, the overall national literacy rate increased progressively during the late 19th century and accelerated further ahead in the first third of the 20th, rising from 27% in 1860 to 45% in 1900 and to 73% in 1930.⁹

Other aspects besides the rise in literacy are equally relevant in explaining the expansion of private writings. There were changes in the way writing was taught in modern schools, in particular cursive handwriting was introduced into the curriculum with the help of publication series like *Lecturas de manuscritos*.¹⁰ Its pages offered a complete repertoire of models for ordinary writings, that is to say, from a functional point of view, writing used to look after and resolve various situations arising out of daily life. One book in this series, the Artisan's Guide (*Guía del artesano*), appeared in its first edition in 1859 at the author's own expense, and carried the explanatory subtitle 'A work containing all kinds of documents frequently needed in the course of

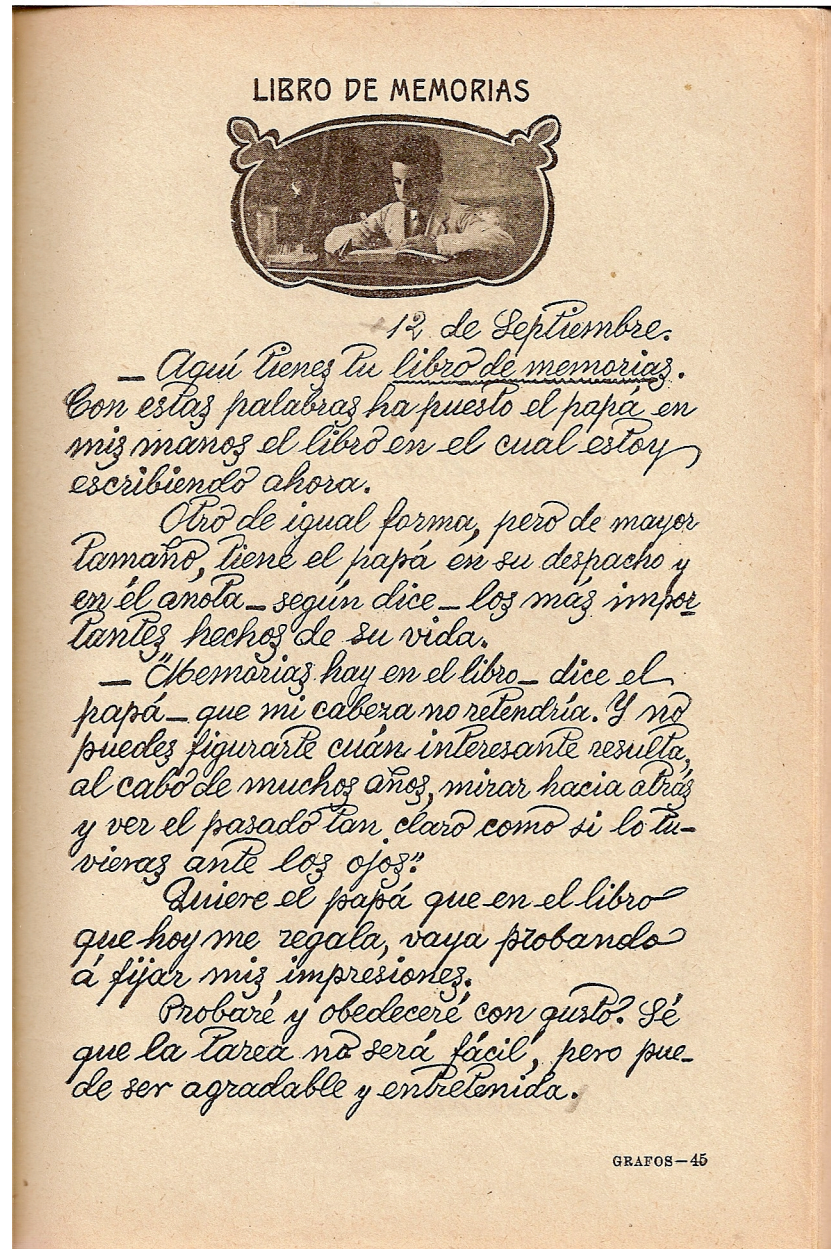
one's life and 220 letter-characters to assist in the reading of handwriting'. As the 1913 edition made clear, the number of 'letter-characters' had risen to 240, and the book was directly aimed at immersing the reader in a graphic culture designed for everyday tasks, and at familiarising him with particular writings and documents (personal and commercial correspondence, contracts of hire, accounts, reports, official letters, sale documents, receipts, advertisements, tickets, death notices, worksheets).

3. Memory Books

It was not simply a question of demonstrating different characters, as was emphasised in the preface to another book in the same genre, 'Writings. Second Manuscript Series' by José Francés, which won prizes at the Valencia Regional Expo in 1909, the National Expo in 1910 and the International Expo in 1912. The aim was rather to facilitate contact with writing technology which could be used in private life, commerce, literature and for official purposes, and these spheres shaped the four sections into which the contents were divided, each with its corresponding introduction.

My paper is concerned with the first of these parts – writing in private life. The introduction began with the Latin quote proclaiming the permanence of writing as opposed to the temporary nature of speech, and it reminded the child Ricardo, to whom the text was addressed along with every schoolboy of the period, that letters, postcards and other manuscripts 'will remain behind, even after you die, as records of your past life'.¹¹ Then followed different model letters, some telegrams, postcards, clear evidence of the expansion of epistolary communication as a social practice. It concluded with a selection of pages from a fictitious yet true-to-life 'memory book'

that Ricardo's father had given him to start recording his impressions, just as his father used to record 'the most important events of his life' in another book 'the same shape but larger', which he kept in his study (p. 45) [Fig.1].



He started his notes on 12 September and other pages followed at particular times and particular months from 1910 to 1911, referring usually to his classes at the Institute, his exams and other cultural experiences, like the day he went to a concert at the Teatro Royal or when he went to the Athenaeum with his father and a friend (pp. 45-

60). So this was a notebook containing various entries and similar to the one recalled in the following words by the writer Mariano José de Larra in one of his newspaper articles entitled ‘Who is the public and where can I meet it?’:

I leave the café, I wander through the streets and at least I can enter hotels and other public places; a growing crowd of Sunday customers is making a noise, eating and drinking and the place is humming with their turbulent din; they are all full of people; everywhere the Yepes and the Valdepeñas are loosening their tongues, just as the wind blows the weather-vane and water turns the millstone; already the thick vapours of Baco are beginning to go to the public’s head and it can’t hear itself speak any more. I almost go and write in my memory book: ‘The esteemed public is drunk’; but fortunately the end of my pencil breaks at this inopportune moment, and since I don’t have anything here to sharpen it with, I keep my observations and my gossiping tongue to myself.¹²

Far from taking us into the realm of fiction, these imaginary fragments from the memory books of the student Ricardo or the writer Larra give us a few clues to understand the defining characteristics of this form of autobiographical writing. Its content and writing processes put it somewhere between a diary and memoirs. A diary, according to Manuel Albera, ‘should be written as each day and its experiences are lived, with no plan other than to try to capture within its pages the passage of time and the impressions it leaves on the writer’, so that it ‘can absorb events large and

small in no preconceived order or shape other than that of the calendar'.¹³ The diary is close to lived experience and lacks perspective. It remains attached to feelings and day-to-day comings and goings in a way that does not occur in memoirs, which embody a series of structured memories organised in sequence, whether chronological or thematic or both. Memory books are not the product of memorialising after the event, but are the same length as diary entries, in other words they are written according to the same rhythm as the events described actually occur. This, however, does not rule out the insertion of memories and evocations of the past. In addition, they share the miscellaneous character of the diary's contents. Thus in the handwritten 'Notes and Memories of Joaquin Viladerbó', dated '31 February (*sic*)' in Barcelona, the author recalled the family farmhouse in the municipality of Tagamanent, which went back to the 13th century, and he added various other things, including a collection of poetry.¹⁴

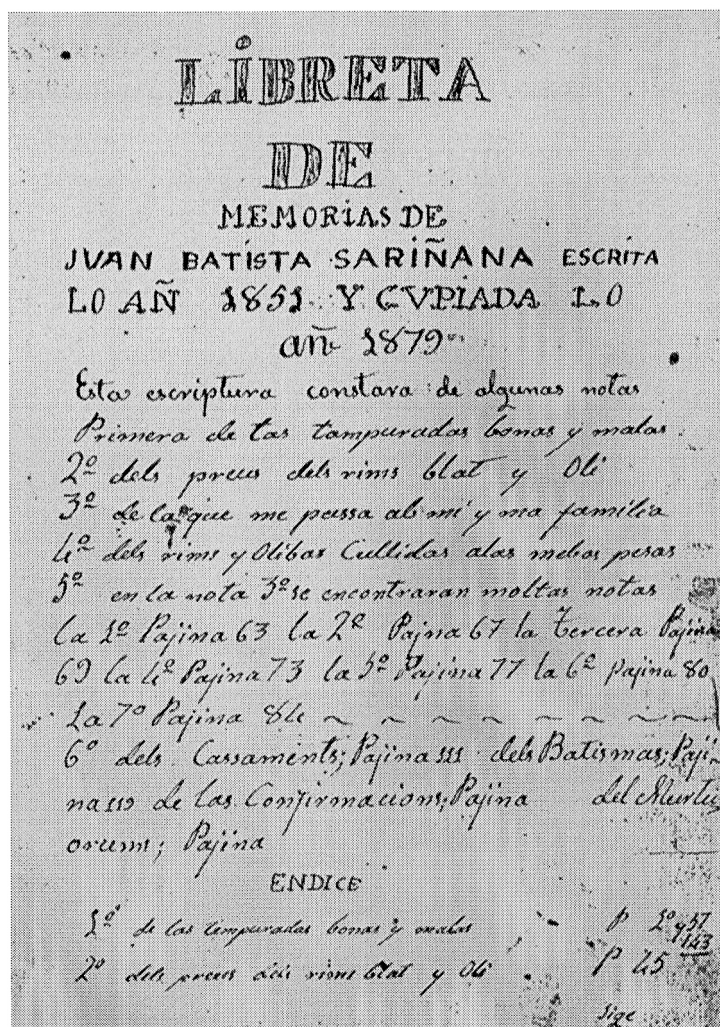
The 'Notebooks of Some Curiosities', by the Canary Islands merchant Antonio Betancourt, preserved in the Canary Islands Museum, lists events strictly in their chronological order. They consist of five in-quarto manuscripts written between 7 January 1796 and 18 October 1807 to leave some record of events concerning himself and his family, but also including various events which occurred during those years at Las Palmas (Grand Canary), whether related to commercial and maritime affairs, religious questions, festivals, historical notes or social issues.

Pedro Santos Fernández, a weaver from Tuy in Galicia, left a similar manuscript in the same format, entitled 'Memory book and various notes to explain the happenings of days, months and years, as contained within'. The author recorded a host of

personal, family or public events in the years 1779 to 1826, preceded by a pair of registers covering 1777 – the construction of the organ in the convent of the Franciscan Sisters of the Immaculate Conception, on which Pedro Santos worked for seven months as servant to the maestro organist – and 1778 – when he was employed as secretary to Benito Durán en Poyo for nine months. Initially, his notes tended to be brief and precise, as in the entries for 1781-1790, which included the death of his father on 6 January 1781, his marriage to Catalina Gómez on 3 January 1782, the fire at their country house on 18 July 1783, the blessing and installation of the new cathedral bell on 16 February 1788 and the snowfall of 8 January 1789. From 1791 onwards, more detailed information is included and the narrative becomes denser. The manuscript is completed by two final folios written by his nephew Luis Blas Senra, with dates of births, marriages and deaths within the family, followed by fragments about the conflict between *cristinos* and Carlists in summer 1837.¹⁵

Three of the 20 or so surviving memory books by the vintner Joan Baptista Serinyana i Mallol (1818-1903) are especially significant in this respect. Leaving aside the others, all handwritten, with his maps, prayers and moral tales, recipes and miscellaneous notes, these three books are interesting both in terms of their content and the titles on the covers:

1. ‘Memory book of Juan Batista Sariñana, written in the year 1851 and completed in the year 1879’, no doubt composed from the previous book of which a few loose pages survive [Fig.2];



2. 'Memory book (*llibretas de memorias*) of various notes: First on the war and revolutions in Spain, and other notes of my memories of the invention of the railway engines and other notes from the year 1832 up to the present day. By myself, Juan Bautista Sariñana, 47 years of age', which indicates that he began it in 1865;
3. 'Memory book of various notes written by Juan Bautista Sariñana' with the additional title inside the cover : 'memoirs ancient and modern written by my own hand, Juan Bautista Sariñana y Mallol, seventy years of age and written in the year 1889'.¹⁶

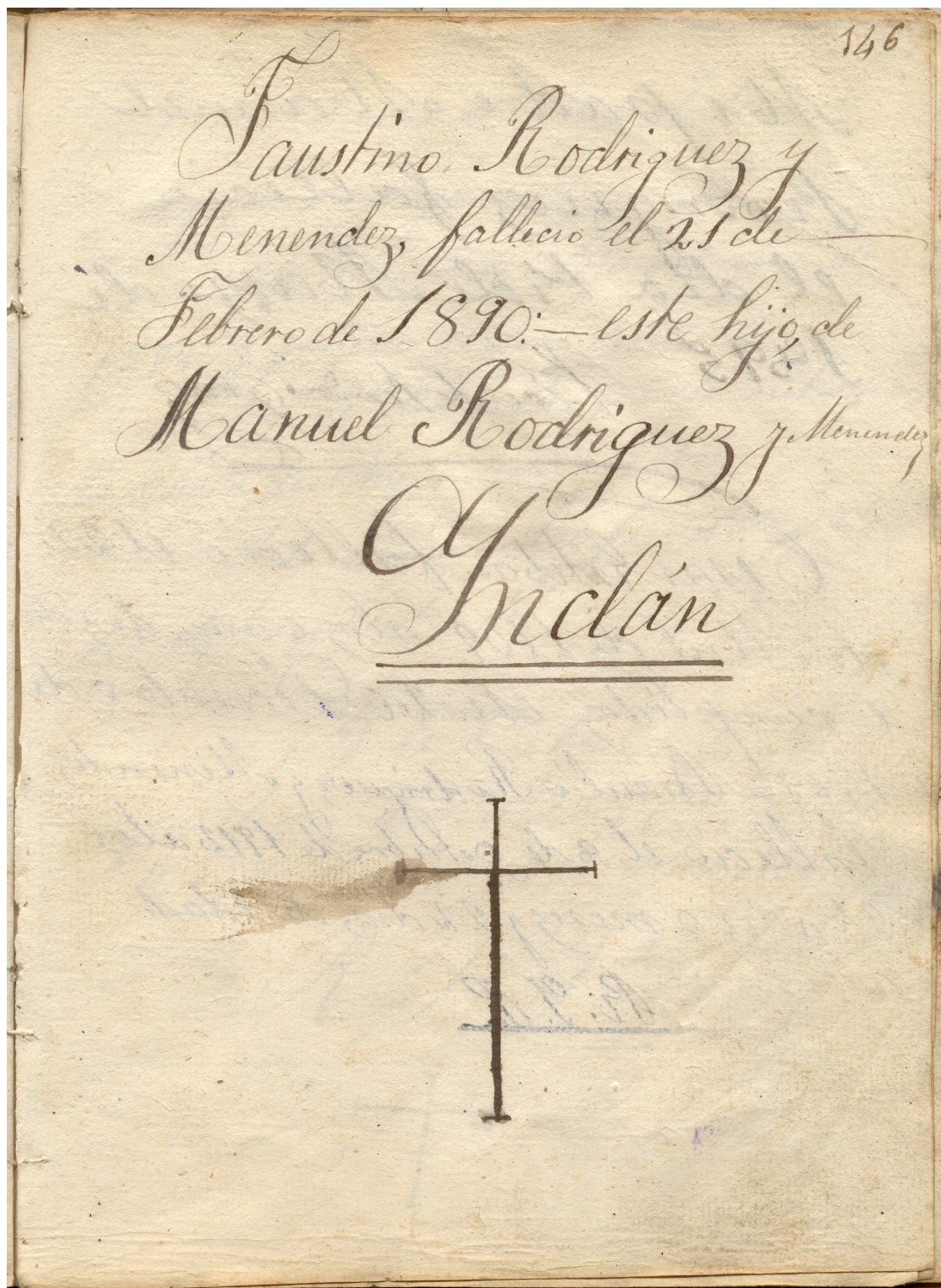
All three share the same title - *Libreta de memorias* - even if the title also includes different additions alluding to the specific content of each book. This lends a certain ambiguity to the genre and this has been pointed out for equivalent testimonies in previous centuries.¹⁷ As Jordi Curbet has pointed out in his edition of these notebooks, the author was someone who did not possess great writing skills, but we cannot help noting his ‘graphomania’ and the distinction he maintained between his different artefacts of memory. The first notebook contains notes on economic and family matters, which makes it a *libro de familia*, especially since it was continued in the same vein by Sariñana’s eldest son Jaume. The second is dedicated to notes and memories which resemble a historical chronicle. He used the third book to record religious events, especially his activities as a member of the Confraternity of the Sacred Heart of Jesus, whose emblem is attached to the book’s cover.

4. From the Account Book to the Family Book

We must not of course assume that this was always the case; it depended a lot on each case and above all on the number of notebooks used. The rational ordering of the memory represented by Juan Sariñana’s three notebooks is most likely to be the work of individuals familiar with writing or with proven graphic ability. When these qualities are less in evidence, accounting is frequently combined with family records and social events within the same graphic space. The page thus becomes an instrument of memory and the expression of individual identity.¹⁸ In such cases it is normal to find, in different degrees, that the accounts are interrupted from time to time, giving way to autobiographical details, especially births, weddings, deaths and other personal or family events. Thus in the book of Benito Sanz, from near

Guadalajara, covering 1822-1852: ‘My beloved brother Juan Sanz passed away on this day 21 November 1897/ his sister Dorotea Sanz’ or ‘My beloved sister Paulina passed away on the day of 27 November 1891, her sister Dorotea Sanz’(fol.133v).¹⁹

The family book of Rodríguez Menéndez, from Inclán in the Asturias, is another example [**Fig.3**].²⁰



As well as any event which might affect the family in one way or another, we find an appointment to a public office, the enrolment of his sons in school, military recruitment or a change of address in search of new opportunities, among other notes:

‘Night school in Yervo. On the night of 4 October 1843 my sons Manuel and Francisco started school.’²¹

The authors of these notebooks just cited were mainly landowners, administrators or merchants, and they recorded all their income and expenses, so as to keep an account of every transaction for themselves. The notebooks reflect a logical graphic organisation of family assets and accounts, having as its main axis the progressive story of individual agreements, with numerical quantities listed laterally, sometimes in columns to facilitate comparisons and subsequent calculations. The author’s signature is often present, too, on every page where he acts as borrower or beneficiary (either his own signature or that of an intermediary in cases where he might be illiterate or incapacitated) [Fig.4].

Digo yo Antonina Fernandez Vezina de Rev-
 beceras que recibí todo lo mandado por Esc-
 ritura echo por el notario Don Liborio Pico
 y Pico vezino de tinea de mano de mi conuegro
 Juan Gomez vezino de yerbo todos de este conuejo
 de tinea y para que le sean de abono doy el pre-
 sente ante los testigos Don Rodriguez y Manuel
 Rodriguez y por no saber firmar la Antonina
 lo hace de su novela uno de los testigos dado
 en yerbo Julio diez y ocho de mil nuevecientos trece
 Testigo y Aruego Jose Rodriguez
 Manuel Rodriguez

When the income and disbursements had been reconciled and the ledger had lost its
 practical utility, the agreements were usually cancelled or marked with a cross, and

the pages even torn out of the notebook, which shows the practical character of this type of book [Fig.5].

<p>Se agusto biton el mon dede el dia de san migel demil 1929 asta otro de 1928 en la can + id az de quatrocientos reales bellon $\frac{676}{48} = \frac{14}{6}$</p>	
primerales unapre + 024	402
4ten mas de interales	20
4den mas docereales por deca	22
4den mas docereales lano beg. sefu	12
100 Cuenta de Uebos	
20 fonsa callera de de edia	
16 docedeotubre por lo q se du	
14 volan mienza q se fua pno	
30 needias ados reales p des	
16 needias ados reales p des	
216 dien tonies en adelantareal	
guerradelos dias de fiesta	
para esto tieneren bicos quarenta	
ysos reales	40
dia de 22 de marzo	
dentrago hasta el dia	6
16 de enero con mediaba	
7a de Saial. q yltimos que	
nta veinte y cinco	25
4den mas 400 medias de rrio a teinta	
4des reales y medio guporan	40
4den mas 400 reales	2
4den mas una peseta	4

For the same reason we can sometimes find alphabetical marks (for example in the ledger of Policarpo de Pando) or tables of contents referring to page numbers (as in that of the Asturian family of Rodríguez Menéndez).²²

As Carmen Rubalcaba Pérez has pointed out in her study of the account books preserved in the Archive of San Román de Escalante²³, they resemble the structure of a diary, in the sense that entries are made as receipts come in, expenses go out and other events happen. They deal with four main themes: family assets, its properties and their administration, and inheritances or litigation related to them; the family as a group, seen through births, marriages, deaths and illnesses; social and family life, for instance the tenure of public office, political and community events, the occupations of and advice given to descendants; and the bizarre and curious, a category including all kinds of rare and unexpected occurrences.²⁴

Almost all these books were written by several generations of the same family, and as a result they lack closure, or as Raul Mordenti puts it

this very remarkable relationship established between writing and family survival explains why these texts have no ‘end’, and why, in every case, they would be unexpectedly cut off if one day the family died out.²⁵

The written testimony of each generation appears as an open-ended process, in which various people participate, their handwriting obeying the organisation of graphic space laid out by their predecessors, sometimes spanning a considerable period, as in the memory book of the Anglada family, which begins with an entry by Miguel Anglada in 1612 and concludes with another Miguel in 1808.²⁶ Even Rodríguez Menéndez's family book covered the period 1880 to 1955, when a pencilled entry noted the death of Amparo Méndez Quintero at the age of 87.²⁷ Many examples like this clearly fall within the category of *libros de familia*, defined by their most eminent students Cichetti and Mordenti as 'multi-generational diary-like writings, in which the family, both as sender and addressee, constitutes the main theme and the medium of textual communication'.²⁸ Its preservation as an instrument of family genealogy and estate management is aided its physical presence; normally the books consisted of several small paper notebooks in quarto format, with a protective cover of parchment reinforced at the edges, and with leather straps to keep the book closed [Fig.6].



The aim is therefore to take up pen and paper to register, communicate, preserve and transmit a collective memory within a domestic space. The individual, the family and

collective events, religious and festive occasions, plagues and diseases, form the axes on which the workings of the group's memory were articulated. In this sense, the account books and memory books of the 19th and early 20th centuries represent the final link in a chain which stretches back to the early modern period and which developed into a distinct corpus in the family books of small peasant landowners in the 16th to 18th centuries. In analysing many of them, we become aware of their hybrid character; they were, in the words of the opening of Joan Guàrdia's account book, continued by his son Antoni Juan (1631-1687), 'books of blank paper for writing accounts'²⁹, although once a book was started, the memory often took a direction quite different from that of strict economics.

This overview of memory books confirms the intense dissemination of handwriting in the private sphere and its spread wherever it is needed to resolve concrete situations. Thus the focus shifts from the writing as an instrument of communication to writing as a practice, and the ways in which it was appropriated as a technology. Furthermore, the history of memory books underlines the attachment to writing of certain individuals, primarily male heads of households, responsible for the administration of agricultural assets and for carrying out certain professional activities which relied on the book as a useful record. Ultimately, the memory book came to embody a personal and a family memory, assisted by the spread of literacy which was then clearly differentiated according to gender. Finally, we can see that the memory and account books of the 19th century are the epigones of a writing genre which had its roots in the Middle Ages, and developed more fully in the Early Modern period. The genre started to disappear as fast as traditional society transformed itself into mass society, so that the 19th-century examples will come to be seen as a bridge between personal,

handwritten account books and the standardised printed forms of the early 20th century. It is now common to use popular printed diaries to record income or expenses, or to make special notes on one's health, the family, the economy or the weather, which were so vital in traditional economies.

[Translated by Martyn Lyons]

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¹ Federico Croci & Giovanni Bonfiglio, *El baúl de la memoria*, Perú (Fondo Editorial del Congreso del Perú), 2003.

² Philippe Artières, 'Arquiva a própria vida', *Estudos Históricos*, 21. 1998, pp. 9- 34.

³ Raul Mordenti, 'Scrittura della memoria e potere di scrittura (secoli XVI-XVII). Ipotesi sulla scomparsa dei "libri di famiglia"', *Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa*, classe di Lettere e Filosofia, serie III, vol. 23:2, 1993, pp. 741-58.

⁴ Antonio Castillo Gómez, 'Les écrits du for privé en Espagne de la fin du Moyen Age à l'époque contemporaine. Bilan et perspectives', in Jean-Pierre Bardet & François-Joseph Ruggiu, eds., *Les écrits du for privé en Europe de la fin du Moyen Age à 1914*, Bordeaux (Presses Universitaires de Bordeaux), forthcoming in 2008.

⁵ See the bibliography at www.redaiep.es (La Red de Archivos e Investigadores de la Escrita Popular), and add Antonio Castillo Gómez & Verónica Sierra Blas, eds., *El legado de Mnemosyne. Las escrituras del yo a través del tiempo*, Gijón (Trea), 2007.

⁶ On this theme, see Verónica Sierra Blas, '<Puentes de papel>: Apuntes sobre las escrituras de la emigración', *Horizontes Antropológicos*, vol. 10, no.22, 2004, pp. 121-47; and her '<Baúles de memoria>. Las escrituras personales y el fenómeno migratorio', in *De la España que emigra a la*

España que acoge. Catálogo de la Exposición, Madrid (Fundación Francisco Largo Caballero y Obra Social Caja Duero), 2006, pp. 157-75.

⁷ Clara Eugenia Núñez, *La fuente de la riqueza. Educación y desarrollo económico en la España contemporánea*, Madrid (Alianza Editorial), 1992, pp. 228-50.

⁸ David Vincent, *The Rise of Mass Literacy. Reading and Writing in Modern Europe*, Cambridge (Polity), 2000, pp. 9-21.

⁹ Clara Eugenia Núñez, *La fuente de la riqueza*, pp. 91-122.

¹⁰ Agustín Escolano Benito, 'Los manuscritos escolares' in Agustín Escolano Benito, ed., *Historia ilustrada del libro escolar en España. Del Antiguo Régimen a la Segunda República*, Madrid (Fundación German Sánchez Ruipérez), 1997, pp. 345-71.

¹¹ José Francés, *Grafos. Segunda serie de manuscritos*, Valencia (Tipo-litografía y relieves de S.Mirabet), no date, p.6, at Universidad de Alcalá, AEC-SIECE, FE 1.12.

¹² *El pobrecito hablador*, no.1, 17 Aug. 1832. Cf. Mariano José de Larra, *Figaro. Colección de artículos dramáticos, literarios, políticos y de costumbres*, ed. Alejandro Pérez Vidal, Barcelona (Crítica), 1997, pp. 660-1.

¹³ Manuel Alberca, *La escritura invisible. Testimonios sobre el diario íntimo*, Oiartzun (Sendoa), 2000, pp. 14-15.

¹⁴ Arxiu de la Memòria Popular, La Roca del Vallès, Barcelona.

¹⁵ José Maria Alvarez Blázquez, 'Memorias de un menestral curioso', *Museo de Pontevedra*, 13, 1958, pp. 61-102. María Cristina of Bourbon was widow of Ferdinand VII, and supported their daughter Isabella's claim to the throne against Ferdinand's brother Don Carlos, in the so-called Carlist Wars.

¹⁶ Jordi Curvet Hereu, ed., *Les llibretes de memòries de Joan Serinyana (1818-1903)*, vinyater llançanenc, Girona (CCG edicions), 2007.

¹⁷ Antonio Castillo Gómez, *Entre la pluma y la pared. Una historia social de la escritura en los Siglos de Oro*, Madrid (Akal), 2006, pp. 59-61.

¹⁸ María Luz Mandingorra Llavata, 'La configuración de la identidad privada: diarios y libros de memorias en la Baja Edad Media', in Antonio Castillo Gómez, ed., *La conquista del alfabeto. Escritura y clases populares*, Gijón (Trea), 2002, p. 131.

¹⁹ *Libro de cuentas/ caja de Benito Sanz*, Universidad de Alcalá, EAC-SIECE, F Me 1.1, folios 112r & 133v.

²⁰ Gijón, Museo del Pueblo de Asturias (MPA), 136/5.

²¹ *Libro de caja de D. Juan Gómez Castrillón*, Gijón, (MPA), 136/4. s fol. This book is dated 1828, but it was also used subsequently by other family members up to 1874.

²² Carmen Rubalcaba Pérez, *Entre las calles vivas de las palabras. Prácticas de cultura escrita en el siglo XIX*, Gijón (Trea), 2006, p. 174; Gijón, MPA, 136/5, fol. 1r.

²³ In particular those of Policarpo Pando, covering 1712-1753, and two account books of Pedro Jado Agüero which span the periods 1844-57 and 1878-79.

²⁴ Carmen Rubalcaba Pérez, *Entre las calles vivas*, p.173; and Rosa María Blasco Martínez & Carmen Rubalcaba Pérez, 'Las escrituras del yo en los libros de cuentas de Pedro Jado (1844-1879)', in Antonio Castillo Gómez & Verónica Sierra Blas, eds., *El legado de Mnemosyne*, pp. 55-73.

²⁵ Raul Mordenti, 'Los libros de familia. Incunables del escribir sobre sí mismo', *Cultura Escrita y Sociedad*, 5, 2007, p. 216.

²⁶ Santi Soler i Simon, ed., *Memòries d'una família pagesa: els Anglada de Fonteta (segles XVII-XVIII)*, Girona (CCG), 2005.

²⁷ Gijón, MPA, 136/5, fol. 147v.

²⁸ Angelo Cichetti and Raul Mordenti, 'La scrittura dei libri di famiglia', in Alberto Asor Rosa, ed., *Letteratura italiana, vol.3, Le forme del testo, tome 2, La prosa*, Turin (Einaudi), 1984, pp. 1149-50; Raul Mordenti, *I libri di famiglia in Italia, 2, Geografia e storia*, Rome (Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura), 2001; and his 'Les livres de famille en Italie', *Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales*, 59:4, 2004, pp.785-804.

²⁹ Antoni Pladevall I Antoni Simon, eds., *Guerra y vida pagesa a la Catalunya del segle XVII*, Barcelona (Curial), 1986, pp. 31-120.